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the positions taken in an essay published 1873. He now thinks Deut. 33 contains sayings handed down in the tribes as from Moses, and put in their present form, with an introduction and conclusion, by some writer before the time of the kingdom.—F. Mühlau, "Zur Paulinischen Ethik (220–44), sets out from a criticism of Wernle's *Der Christ u. die Sünde bei Paulus* (1897), and Karl's *Beiträge z. Verständniss der soteriol. Erfahrungen u. Spekulationen des Ap. Paulus* (1896). These writers held that "the Christian does not sin," according to Paul; neither does the apostle teach any moral development of Christian life. He was blinded by missionary "enthusiasm" and eschatological "optimism." Paul was really a sort of "Methodist," and taught no sin in the believer. He was not a Protestant, and the reformers largely misinterpreted him to get their theology. The "new theology" does not know what to do with sin; and here it tries to show that Paul was blind in the same direction. Mühlau thoroughly proves the opposite.—The last essay, on "Melanchthons Loci praecipui und Thesen über die Rechtfertigung aus dem Jahre 1531" (245–62), is by J. Haussleiter. He shows by means of an overlooked print of Melanchthon's "Loci," and a thesis on "Justification," of 1531, that a critical text, showing the historical growth of the "Disputations" and "Theses" of the reformer is still to be prepared.

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HISTORY, PROPHECY, AND THE MONUMENTS; OR, ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS. By JAMES FREDERICK McCURDY, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. Vol. II: *To the Fall of Nineveh*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896. Pp. xxi + 433. \$3.

A SECOND stately volume of this scholarly work by the professor of oriental languages at Toronto is already assured of a hearty welcome by reason of the excellence of its predecessor. The reader may be certain in advance that his expectations will suffer no disappointment, except that he will find himself sent on to a third volume which will be necessary to complete the task which the author has set before him. All students will unite in the hope that this final volume will be soon forthcoming.

This installment has all the excellencies and some of the defects of its predecessor. There is the same wide horizon, so unexpected and

so grateful, where the history of Israel is placed in its true perspective and thereby attains new reality and attractiveness. The same lack of constructive power appears. The book does not seem to be clearly articulated. The analysis is confused. There is want of proportion. The matter overpowers the organization. We confess also to weariness of the style. The combination of sonorous periods and diffuse repetitiousness seems to have grown upon the author. The continual reappearance of the pronoun "we" (fifteen times on pp. 34, 35) is out of place in historical narrative of this dignity, besides weakening the force of the statements. There are also occasional slips in the reference of pronouns. We also observe that twice at least Professor McCurdy has condescended to indulge in levity; once he has punned. The effect is peculiar. The reader, if he wishes, may experience it by consulting pp. 39 and 152. There is the same absence of maps and an index, the same paucity of references to authorities, which detract so much from the value of the book. And we record, also, with sincere gratitude, the same cordial sympathy with the subject, the same union of devout recognition of the high theme with reasonable, if not ample, freedom, born of modern scientific research, in dealing with traditional material. The solid framework which he has built up can, indeed, bear the weight of not a few faults, yet its very excellence makes us regret their presence.

The present volume divides into two distinct and practically independent parts. The author has halted, in his historical narrative of Israel's fortunes, at the fall of Samaria to interpose an extended exposition of Hebrew life in its elements and interior forces. More than half the volume (pp. 1-236) is thus occupied. The narrative is then resumed and carried down to the fall of Assyria (*ca.* 606 B. C.). Each of these portions deserves thorough and extensive treatment. Some general remarks only may be offered, as well as some criticisms of particular points:

1. The historical section occupying the second half of the volume deals with some of the most stirring episodes of the Old Testament. Isaiah and his times furnish a theme to stimulate as well as to test the powers of the historian. The material crowds in on every side. Hebrew and Assyrian documents abound. The prophetic discourses illuminate, and are in turn illuminated by, the historical narratives. The author shows ready control of all these sources. He is an excellent Assyriologist as well as Hebrew scholar, and offers original and spirited translations of the important documents. His conclusions on parti-

cular points are independent and well considered, and, therefore, repay study. It is interesting to observe that he rejects the hypothesis of an invasion and devastation of Judah by Sargon in 711 B. C. He offers a new date for the accession of Hezekiah, 719 B. C., but we fear that he will convince no one. It rests on a series of uncertainties, since no one can tell exactly the date of Marduk-bal-iddin's embassy to the king of Judah, or of Hezekiah's sickness; and, even if this were possible, no dependence can be placed on the "at that time" of 2 Kings 20:12. Most scholars will prefer to fall back on the definite statement of 2 Kings 18:13 and hold to 715 B. C. The author's dating of Isaiah's discourses is in some cases peculiar. Chap. 28 is assigned as a whole to the period before 722 B. C., in spite of the difficulties of vss. 7-29, by making vs. 15 refer apparently to the Assyrian alliance. Chaps. 18 and 19 are referred to Sargon's Ashdod campaign, 711 B. C. Chap. 10:28-32 is regarded as giving the actual course of the army of invasion. Chap. 23 was in large part written by Isaiah in 685 B. C. in Esarhaddon's time.

The account of Sennacherib's invasion is quite original, but at the same time very unsatisfactory. The problem of harmonizing the narratives of 2 Kings, chap. 18, and the Assyrian inscription is solved by the hypothesis of the breaking up of Sennacherib's army into detachments, one of which marches down through Samaria to Jerusalem, while others attack the various Philistine cities. Apart from the unlikelihood of the Assyrian king's distributing his forces in this fashion, the author, in his endeavor to trace and present the course of events, involves himself and his readers in a maze of confusion and contradiction. Do the best we can, it is impossible to comprehend the various statements, apparently flatly contradictory, on pp. 289, 297, 301. It may not be possible to bring the various sources into entire conformity, but anything is better than the author's puzzling solution.

A predilection for the statements of the Chronicler was shown in Vol. I, and is observed here also. So far as anything appears, they are regarded as valuable historically as those of 2 Kings. So, of course, we find a thorough and ingenious reworking through of the problem of Manasseh's punishment by the Assyrians (2 Chron. 33:11-13). How Manasseh came to fall away from Jehovah is explained by "wild impulses of a misguided youth" given free reign after Isaiah passed away, though how Manasseh could have been "misguided" when Isaiah was in power is not clear, especially when the good character

of the youthful Josiah is traced by the author to the good influences by which he had been surrounded. Manasseh's fall is connected with his paying homage to Esarhaddon about 680 B. C., when he or his special envoy may have visited Nineveh and have received an overwhelming impression of the greatness of Nineveh's gods. His revolt is connected with the great defection of the brother of Ashurbanipal and is indirectly proved by the mention of revolts of Arabian tribes east of Palestine and two towns of Phœnicia, west of it, whose subjection is referred to as undertaken about the same time by the Assyrian king. That no reference is made to the reduction of rebellious Judah is explained by the remark that the Assyrian "records do not contain an account of all the numberless details of provincial wars." However, as these very records do contain the accounts of the subjection of two Phœnician cities, called by the author "insignificant towns," and connected by him with the "more powerful" neighbor, Judah, the apparently insuperable difficulty in the way of accepting the Chronicler's narrative reappears more formidably than ever.

A large part of this portion of the book is concerned purely with Assyrian history only indirectly, if at all, connected with Israel. The author shares the estimate of Sennacherib held almost universally by scholars, that he was "boastful, arrogant, cruel, and revengeful to a degree uncommon even in Assyrian kings," as well as being a failure in his political measures. Esarhaddon he praises highly, regarding him as having won his influence by "his personal visitation and residence among his subjects." But Ashurbanipal lived in "selfish isolation," and the author feels compelled to abate somewhat of the admiration with which he is regarded by modern writers. No doubt this judgment is justified.

2. To pass now to the first part of the volume, the discussion of the inner life of Israel, the author begins with a survey of the past history of the Hebrews from the preparation for them upon the stage of oriental history to the disappearance of the northern kingdom before Assyria. The work is, on the whole, admirably done. Especially good is the recognition of the *progress* in northern Israel, from the semi-anarchy of the first days to the settled and splendid reign of Jeroboam II. Opportunity is offered for abundant generalization. Ability to generalize fruitfully is a mark of the true historian. Professor McCurdy does not bear this test as successfully as one might desire. He falls sometimes into commonplaces like the following epigrammatic gem: "Few kings in any age have been great men, and still

fewer have been good." Of course it would be easy often to challenge such broad statements as that which assigns to the primitive Babylonian kingdoms the expression of "that imperial idea which of itself gives unity and consistency to the most enduring national history the world has ever known," or that which differentiates the issues of Israel's history from those of others as being "primarily moral and only secondarily political." Surely, if any historical issues are worth studying, it is primarily because of their moral bearings. But all will agree with the author in his conclusion of this rapid résumé of Israel's outward history by the remark that there is another side of the history to uncover, the more vital and inward; one must search "how the social and political structure of Israel arose; . . . how the intellectual and religious habits and productions of the people were the embodiment of sentiments proper to them and to them alone; how their distinctively Hebraic elements were differentiated from the antecedent Semitic inheritance of usage and belief;" although all may not be willing to subscribe to the further strong statement, "how Israel alone among the ancient peoples of the earth was admitted into the holy place of essential and everlasting truth in the supreme region of morals and religion." With this programme the author goes forward to his study of the inner life of Israel.

It would be impossible to follow Professor McCurdy through his long and complicated discussion. The sources for our knowledge of Hebrew social life are very meager, and usually indirect. The results are often tentative and indefinite. The author deserves all credit for his thorough and sympathetic treatment. He has made a path through the thicket and branched off here and there to show how rich are the fruits to be gathered. But he has not been able to render his discussion attractive or interesting, and it must be said that he would have been much more likely to secure a hearing for it if he had broken it up and inserted its parts in their historical order as determined by the external history. For what is given here is really a second Hebrew history extending from the beginnings to the fall of Samaria, only treated from the inside. How much more naturally, as it seems to us, would both external and internal elements have been presented if taken together by the epochs of their growth rather than thus artificially separated.

The treatment of the material follows, in general, the development of the history. An introductory chapter treats of "The Elements and Character of Hebrew Society." Nowhere else in literature can be found

a more thorough analysis of the elementary forms of social life, the family, the family group, the household, the clan, the tribe. No question is shirked, and if the solution of the problems is not always satisfactory, that may be owing as much to the insufficiency of the material available as to any other cause. Particular attention is drawn upon the household and the clan, "the two fundamental political units among the Hebrews." The household is studied at great length, but we do not find the promised discussion of the clan, unless it may be said to come in the next chapter, which treats the first period of nomadism, or the patriarchal age, and the sojourn in Egypt, which the author calls the semi-nomadic age. He speaks of the "Hebrew community" from the earliest period and argues back to its existence from the condition of the Hebrews in Egypt. As there they "were already in possession of all the elements of a stable society," they must have had one before they came, and substantially such a one as the narrative of the patriarchal age represent. Conversely, if the patriarchal history contains a basis of truth, the narrative of the Egyptian sojourn must be true. The exodus involves the essentials of the patriarchal history, and *vice versa*. This is dangerous reasoning and to us is quite inconclusive. Later it reacts with emphasis upon the author's conception of Moses, whose work, according to him, was not originally and primarily creative, but "mainly regenerative and disciplinary," "constructive largely because it was reconstructive." Such a conclusion must be reached by one who has built up a theory of a "Hebrew community" with a stable society, a "specialized and complex organization," a system of social and religious observances, reaching back into the remote past. The primary failure to grasp and solve the problem of the primitive social condition of "Israel" is due chiefly, in our judgment, to the author's separate treatment of the history and the social life referred to above. For our first question is, What was the "Hebrew community"? Was it one clan or twelve? What historical facts do we know about it? And when light is thrown on those questions, it is time to discuss social conditions. But, with the author's hypothesis, the work of Moses was, politically, to energize, organize, and unify the people; religiously, to make the ritual a matter of united observance. After all, he did more for subsequent ages than he did for his own, since his generation did not really need much to be done for it. That is, if we understand our author, his legal codes were intended for later epochs of the national life (p. 93).

Another chapter is devoted to the social evolution of the time of

the settlement in Canaan. This, too, is semi-nomadic. Moses had given the people a national organization; they work out their salvation in their new home. The essential step forward is connected with the life in cities, which breaks up families and clans and introduces new obligations, judicial and religious. Local interests destroy the old unity. Amalgamation with the Canaanites introduces dangers of religious and social degeneration. But all this breaking up is in order to the evolution of a higher form of organization. The author uses the word "city," in this connection, in altogether too broad a sense. Evidently he means local, as distinguished from nomadic, organization, and he would have avoided misunderstanding by using these more general terms. We are inclined also to think that he has not developed with sufficient clearness the fact that, while the old nomadic clan disappeared, a new local clan took its place. The tribal system was continued only in a new form adapted to the changed situation.

The third period of social history was that of the monarchy. It may be traced along two lines, the growth and regulation of the military power, and changes in the administration of civil affairs. In discussing the former the author distinguishes three periods: one of disorganization, as in the time of the Judges; one of a general militia, as in the time of Saul; one of a military class, beginning with David. He declares that the system of armed retainers of royalty was discouraged by the best Israelites. We believe that the evidence of this would be hard to find. The handling of this point seems quite inadequate. Nor is the treatment of the administrative development under the monarchy satisfactory. The author utterly fails to understand the work of Solomon, whose administration, apart from the building of the temple, he characterizes as that of a "personally ambitious and self-aggrandizing tyrant." Great emphasis is laid upon a point which is very doubtful, viz., that northern Israel was politically from the first very far behind Judah. David "placed Judah politically a century ahead of the rest of Israel"! And yet from the time of the disruption northern Israel stepped to the front politically and religiously.

Having followed Israel's development in these three periods, Professor McCurdy closes this part of his book with a chapter entitled "Society, Morals, and Religion," in which, apparently, he follows out again the evolution of these three factors in Israel's life. Here topics like classes of society and their relations, social decay and its causes, the "social problem," regenerative forces in Hebrew society, have their consideration. We confess to a little confusion, in which it



seems to us the author shares. He has to take up topics already treated, and cross-references abound. Still, this chapter must be regarded as the most valuable contribution which he has made. Many new subjects are introduced, many points are presented in a fresh light. Merely to have such matters as slavery, the "stranger," administration of justice, poverty, etc., taken up and handled is a great boon for which no student of the Old Testament can be too grateful to the author. They are subjects which are usually passed over unnoticed in most manuals. Among so much that is interesting and profitable, we select for special review the treatment of slavery. All ancient peoples were slaveholders. The Hebrews were no exception. As nomads they had few slaves, but with the development of agricultural life slave labor was a necessity. Yet in early times, when the freeman still worked on his own fields, they were not in great demand. Only later, when war and politics occupied the hands of the citizens, or industry and commerce called for more workers, did slavery assume greater proportions. Such, in general, appear to be the main lines of the development of slavery in Israel. The author, however, takes some strange positions. He suggests that war supplied a victorious nation with captives to be reduced to slavery, and that then the only use to be made of them was to put them to work, *i. e.*, find work for them to do—an early emergence of the labor problem, surely. He forgets that the most natural thing was to sell them. Historically, the process was not first slaves and then, by means of them, the development of agriculture and commerce, but exactly the opposite. So also the rise of great estates was followed by the increasing employment of slave labor everywhere in the ancient world. The author has somewhat confused, also, the relation of the slave and the "stranger" (*ger*). The absorption of the Canaanites was accomplished not so much by reducing them to slavery as through the system of *gerim*. His interpretation of the slave law of Deut. 23:15 f. is absurd, as a careful reading of the law reveals, and the surprise at the ordinary interpretation adopted is quite uncalled for. To permit slaves to flee from city to city *in* Israel unmolested would have produced anarchy. We question whether slavery, as practiced in Israel or in any other ancient people, "was on the whole a great blessing to the land and the people." At a certain stage of social development, undoubtedly. But, "on the whole," it was rather one of the elements of economic disaster in the ancient world. And that it "contributed to a development in Israel of the philanthropic temper, the spirit of compassion, the sense of a wide human brother-

hood," is still more doubtful. How can the writer assert, in view of Ex. 21:2, 7; Lev. 25:44, that "alone among the Semitic peoples, ancient or modern, Israel has left no recorded traces of a traffic in the bodies of men, except in its prohibition"? Much may be said in behalf of the amelioration of the lot of the slave among the Hebrews, but nothing is gained by exaggeration.

But we must close our observations on this thoughtful and instructive discussion. It is so suggestive and admirable that one wishes it were better. The author has not yet given us his critical analysis of the documents of the Old Testament, and without that we cannot judge of his results; he has often failed in careful distinction of historical periods, and hence has given often no clear idea of the development of institutions. He is possessed with the idea of the singularity, the uniqueness of Hebrew social life; and yet every page of his discussion reveals how in these respects the Hebrews were one with the Semitic peoples around them. Happily he could not overstate the moral grandeur of the Old Testament teachings in their highest ranges, and he has borne glowing testimony to their value for the life of today. In this all will gladly follow him and will rejoice to hail so puissant an advocate of the restoration of the Old Testament to its rightful place as an unequalled teacher of social and political morality.

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GESCHICHTE DES VOLKES ISRAEL, bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia. Von AUGUST KLOSTERMANN, DR. THEOL., ord. Professor an der Universität Kiel. München: Beck, 1896. Pp. xii+271. M. 4.50.

It is difficult to assign Professor Klostermann a position among the various schools of Old Testament study. In textual criticism his emendations are bold almost to rashness. He has vigorously attacked the modern critical schools, yet has his own theory of pentateuchal criticism. Individuality is always interesting, and, if not carried to eccentricity, may do valuable service in stirring up old questions and compelling established views or authoritative dogmas to justify themselves afresh at the bar of a vigorous and original criticism. So Professor Klostermann may be trusted to give in this history something new and worth considering.

The title suggests Professor Stade's work on the same subject, but